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THE NEW FRAGMENTS

OF

JUVENAL

A Lecture

*DELIVERED AT CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE ON
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1901*

BY

ROBINSON ELLIS, M.A.
CORPUS PROFESSOR OF LATIN LITERATURE

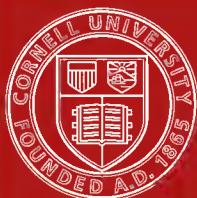
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THE NEW FRAGMENTS OF JUVENAL

MR. WINSTEDT'S discovery of thirty-six new lines in the VIth Satire of Juvenal may fairly take rank among the most interesting, not to say most important, which recent research has unearthed. They were found in a Bodleian MS. of the Canonici Latin Collection (41), written in a small Lombard character and assigned by Coxe to the eleventh century. They follow 365, which ends Juvenal's description of the extravagance of women in the indulgence of a licentious passion.

Haec tamen argenti superest quodcumque paterni
Leuibus athleticis ac uasa nouissima donat.
Multis res angusta domi: sed nulla pudorem
Paupertatis habet, nec se metitur ad illum,
Quem dedit haec posuitque, modum. tamen utile quid sit
Prospiciunt aliquando uiri, frigusque famemque
Formica tandem quidam expauere magistra.
Prodiga non sentit pereuntem femina censum.
Ac uelut exhausta recidiuus pullulet arca
Nummus et e pleno semper tollatur aceruo,
Non unquam reputant, quanti sibi gaudia constant.

TEXT OF THE LONGER FRAGMENT

as preserved in Canon. Lat. 41.

In quacumque domo uiuit luditque professus
 Obscenum. et tremula promittit omnia dextra,
 Inuenies omnis turpes similesque cinedis.
 His uiolare cibos sacraeque adsistere mensae
 Permittunt. et uasa iubent frangenda lauari. 5
 Cum colocintha bibit uel cum barbata chelidon.
 Purior ergo tuis laribus meliorque lanista,
 In cuius numero longe migrare iubetur
 Psillus ab eupholio. quid quod nec retia turpi
 Iunguntur tunicae. nec cella ponit eadem 10
 Munimenta humeri pulsataque arma tridentem.
 Qui nudus pugnare solet pars ultima ludi
 Accipit as animas, aliosque in carcere neruos.
 Sed tibi communem calicem facit uxor. et illis
 Ceum quibus albanum surrentinumque recusat 15
 Flaua ruinosi lupa degustare sepulcri.
 Horum consiliis nubunt. subitaeque recedunt.

1. I agree with Prof. Paul Thomas in making *quacumque* 'every' not 'whatever.'

2. *somnia* for *omnia*: Housman corrects *promittit et omnia*, 'everything vile that can be done.' With *somnia* cf. 547 *Qualiacumque uoles Iudaei somnia uendunt*: for *somnia* and *omnia* confused in MSS., cf. Cir. 90 *Omnia sunt*: and in Cul. 60 from *illis omnia* of MSS. *illi somnia* should no doubt be elicited, though the origin of the error here seems to be that the *s* of *somnia* attached itself to *illis*.

9. Psillus and Eupholius represent a higher and lower order of gladiators. It is uncertain which name represents the higher. Possibly Ψιλός and Εὐφώλιος: the light-armed opposed to the mailed (φολίς, *scale*) fighter.

11. *pulsatam* I change to *pulsatum*, making *arma* in apposition with *tridentem*. Postgate prefers *pulsantem*. Possibly *pulsaturumque tridentem*.

12. After *solet* there is a full stop.

13 has been corrected by Owen and Housman *Accipit has animas aliusque in carcere neruos*, and this I have followed.

15. *recuset* Platt.

TRANSLATION.

In every house some professed teacher of prudence lives and plays the wanton and promises with a shaking right hand dreams of happiness. You will find them, one and all, a degraded set of the merest pathics. These are the creatures they allow to pollute the food they eat, and take their stand by the board that should be inviolable. When a *Colocyntha* or a bearded *Chelidon* takes a drink, they order the cup to be washed, not shattered as it should be.

Thus it is that the wrestling-master has a house that is cleaner and more reputable than yours; for in his gang *Psillus* and *Eupholius* are ordered to live apart and not come near each other. What is more, the *retiarius'* net does not keep company with the debased tunic, nor does the uncovered champion of the arena put his shoulder-armour and the battered trident which is his weapon of attack in the same closet (with his superior). Such cheap lives are consigned to the remotest part of the wrestling-school and to a different place of durance in the prison. Your wife, on the contrary, gives a share of the cup you drink from, to wretches in whose society the blonde drab of some tomb falling into ruin disdains to taste a stoup of Alban or Surrentine.

These are their confidants when they marry or determine on a sudden divorce, for these alone they reserve their moments of ennui and the serious

His languentem animum seruant et seria uitae.
 His clunem atque latus discunt uibrare magistris.
 Quicquid preterea scit qui docet haud tamen illi 20
 Semper habenda fides. oculos fuligine pascit.
 Distinctus croceis et reticulatus adulter
 Suspectus tibi sit. quanto uox mollior. et quo
 Saepius in teneris herebit dextera lumbis
 Hic erit in tecto fortissimus. exuit illic 25
 Personam. docili^s thais saltata tripallo.
 Quem rides aliis hunc mimum sponsio fiat.
 Purum te contendo uirum contendo fateris
 An uocat ancillas tortoris pēgula. noui
 Consilia. et ueteres quaecumque monetis amici 30
 Pone seram cohibes. sed quis custodiat ipsos
 Custodes. qui nunc lasciuae furta puellae
 Hac mercede silent. crimen comune tacetur.
 Prospicit hoc prudens. et ab illis incipit uxor. 34

18. *ad seria* Richards *animum seruant languentem ad seria u.* H. Jackson.

20. After *docet* there is a full stop.

22. There is a stop after *adulter*.

23. Punctuating *Suspectus tibi sit, quanto uox mollior, et quo Saepius, i. t. h. d. lumbis*. It might, perhaps, be better to arrange the passage thus:

oculos fuligine pascit:

Distinctus croceis et reticulatus adulter
 Suspectus tibi sit. quanto uox mollior, et quo
 Saepius in teneris haerebit dextera lumbis,
 Hic erit in lecto fortissimus.

25. *lecto* for *tecto* Postgate.

27. Punctuating

Quem rides? aliis hunc mimum! sponsio fiat:
 Purum te contendo uirum, contendo. fateris?

31. A new reading *Pone seram: cohibes*: you have but to lock her up and so are sure to keep her in order.

trials of life; these are the masters that teach them to move their haunches and waist voluptuously, in a word, to do everything understood by the trainer, and by him alone.

For all his effeminacy you cannot always trust him: this dilater of his eyes with lamp-black, this wearer of particoloured robes of saffron and a woman's hair-net, is an adulterer.

Look upon him with a jealous eye, just in proportion as his voice has a softer tone, and his right hand rests more and more often on his tender haunches. You shall find him the sturdiest of champions in the lover's bed: it is there that Thais strips off her stage-mask, after her pantomimic impersonation by this artist lecher.

Tell me now, who is it you are laughing at? Keep your farce for others, not me. Let us make a wager: you are a man, I assert, nothing short of a very man. Am I right? or are the housemaids to be summoned to the whipping-chamber to confess?

Well I know what I shall be advised, every point of your counsels, my time-honoured friends: 'Set a lock upon her, in this way you prevent her going wrong.'

But who is to mount guard upon the guardians themselves? In these days they keep our wantons' frailties in the dark, and *this* is their pay: the guilt is shared, and nothing said of the crime. Your wife has a wise foreknowledge of this, and makes her first experiments with the spies you set upon her.

It is observable that, so far as is yet known, these verses exist in no other MS. Max Maas, who examined sixteen codices of Juvenal in the Munich library, could detect no reference to them, no hint of their existence, in any gloss, scholion, or marginal note which these sixteen MSS. contain. Mr. Winstedt's find, therefore, is no ordinary one; for though opinions differ as to the genuineness of the new lines, it is admitted that they are not unworthy of Juvenal, and no future edition of the Satire can well ignore them.

Ribbeck in his treatise, 'The Genuine and the False Juvenal,' long ago raised the question which every scholar has been trying to answer in reference to the new fragments. One of the highest authorities on all questions of Roman literature, Prof. Bücheler, does not admit them to be genuine. To him they seem the production of an imitator, possibly not earlier than the fourth century. Maas, on the other hand, is convinced of their genuineness. Such seems also to be the opinion of Paul Thomas, Reinach, Ramorino, Postgate, Housman, Owen, H. Jackson, Duff, and the other English scholars who have discussed them. Prof. Mayor, however, by far the greatest English authority on Juvenal, has not, as far as I know, expressed his opinion either way.

It is perhaps premature to speak with anything like confidence on a point where future investigation may bring to light new data. It is not impossible that other MSS. yet unexplored, or at least some one other MS., may contain the new fragment, either as in Canon. Lat. 41, forming part of the text of Satire vi, or written in the margin, or even at the end of the Satire. In the parallel case of the doubtful lines in *Aen.* ii. 567-588—

Iamque adeo super unus eram, cum limina Vestae
and ending,

Talia iactabam et furiata mente ferebar,

which are omitted in all the best MSS., and seem to have been introduced in those which contain them from Servius, at least one MS. (Ashmole 54 in the Bodleian) exhibits them written separately by themselves, with a note prefixed, stating the place in B. ii, to which they belong. This MS. is of cent. xv, and something similar may well have happened in the later written MSS. of Juvenal's Satires; for it is a well-known fact that many of these lie still unexamined.

Varius and Tucca did not settle the question of genuineness in the above-mentioned verses of Aen. II by rejecting them; it is indeed probable that scholars will be wrangling over that passage as long as Vergil is read. If most critics find in them points of diction or moral feeling which seem un-Vergilian, it must not be forgotten on the other hand that without them the sequence of the narrative is less distinct, and even seems interrupted.

We may apply the same tests to the new Juvenal fragment, (1) similarity of style and metre, (2) consistency of moral and poetical tone, (3) suitability to the place in Satire vi which they occupy in the MS.

1. The verses are not only worthy of Juvenal, but are in Juvenal's best style. There is no trace in them of the tiresome sermonizing and ineffective platitudes which mark some of the later Satires. They are artificial, elaborate, and telling. Liveliness is given by the introduction of names, Colocyntha and Chelidon, which, as Mr. Owen and Mr. H. Jackson agree, can hardly be anything but names of *molles*, Psyllus and Eupholius of gladiators, Thais and Tri-pallus of characters in mime. All the rhetorical artifices by which Juvenal works up and enforces his thesis may be found here. The sudden shifting from descriptive narrative in the 3rd person to apostrophe in the 2nd (7 Purior ergo *tuis* laribus meliorque lanista, 14 Sed *tibi* communem calicem facit uxor et illis, 23 Suspectus *tibi* sit, and even more notably 27 Quem *rides*? alii hunc mimum? Sponsio fiat. Purum *te* contendo uirum, contendo. *Fateris*?), where

the poet, forgetting Postumus, to whom he has inscribed the Satire, steps forward in person and confronts the too male *cinaedus* with a wager; again, the sur-charged allusiveness of the epithets, *sacrae mensae*, *uasa frangenda*, *barbata Chelidon*, *docili Tripallo*, giving first obscurity, then increased lucidity to the poet's meaning.

Again, a condensed or *compendiary* use of substantives, which to make it intelligible must be reduced to an expanded prose paraphrase, e. g. 7 *Purior ergo tuis laribus meliorque lanista*, where *lanista* = the wrestling master's establishment.

Again, a tendency to close descriptions which threaten to be tiresome or nauseous by a short relieving clause like 20 *Quidquid praeterea scit qui docet*. This *quidquid* is frequent in the Satires: vi. 465 *moechis foliata parantur*, *His emitur quidquid graciles huc mittitis Indi*; 643 *Credamus tragicis, quidquid de Colchide torua Dicitur et Procne*; ix. 96 *Qui modo secretum commiserat, ardet et odit, Tamquam proderim quidquid scio*; xi. 191 *Pone domum et seruos et quidquid frangitur illis Aut perit*: xiii. 83 *Quidquid habent telorum armamentaria caeli*, which follows and sums up five lines of objects appealed to in confirmation of an oath.

Metrically, too, the fragment is completely Juvenalian; in the ostentatiously shortened δ of the 1st pers. *Purum te contend δ uirum contend δ* , and the nominative of nouns in o , *sponsi δ fiat* (27).

Again, in the great variety of the pauses; and especially in the recurring pause after dactyl in the fourth foot. Every one will recognize in 20 *Quidquid praeterea scit qui docet*; 25 *Hic erit in lecto fortissimus*, a well-known characteristic of Juvenal's hexameters.

2. In tone and subject the new fragment may be compared particularly with Satire ii, to which some very close resemblances will be found, e.g. 93 *Ille supercilium madida fuligine tinctum Obliqua producit acu* and 96 *Reticulumque comis auratum ingentibus implet*, with fr. 21, 22 *oculos fuligine pascit Distinctus croceis et reticulatus adulter*; 110 *reuerentia mensae* with fr. 4 *sacrae mensae*; 143 *Vicit*

et hoc monstrum tunicati fuscina Gracchi, with fr. 9 *Quid quod nec retia turpi Iunguntur tunicae*, though the exact meaning of this is doubtful.

Speaking more generally, I agree with Prof. Ramorino in thinking it very unlikely that the fragment should be the work of a forger of the fourth century; it is not that such forgeries were impossible at that time; but that the ability to execute what at an advanced period of Christianity must have become a purely imaginary picture cannot lightly be postulated. The imitation (if it is such) is admittedly a dextrous one. The colours, the grouping, the effect, linguistically and metrically, of the whole are so like Juvenal, and Juvenal in his best vein, as to be easily recognizable.

3. As regards the *place* of the new verses in the MS. (after 365), it must be premised that the last five verses of the fragment cannot coexist with 346-8 of the ordinary text. A comparison will show this.

Fr. 30-34:

Consilia et ueteris quaecumque monetis amici.
 'Pone seram, cohibes.' sed quis custodiat ipsos
 Custodes? qui nunc lasciuæ furta puellæ
 Hac mercede silent. crimen commune tacetur.
 Prospicit hoc prudens et ab illis incipit uxor.

Received text, verses 346-348:

Audio quid ueteres olim moneatis amici,
 Pone seram, cohibe. sed quis custodiet ipsos
 Custodes? cauta est et ab illis incipit uxor.

It is tolerably clear that these three lines are an alteration and condensation of the other five: this would be a natural consequence of the poet's rejecting the fragment as a whole, yet retaining the concluding verses, in accordance with an economic feeling that they were sufficiently finished to need little change but curtailment.

Now if this was so, if the new fragment is an originally genuine, but afterwards rejected, panel in the series of tableaux which the Satirist presents in his glowing denunciation

of the vices of women in his time, we should expect the rejected fragment, if it still formed part of the written text at all, to *follow* the section of the poem which, in the new recension, preserved the concluding verses of the original draft, though in an abridged form.

The case may be stated more clearly thus.

As Mr. H. Jackson has suggested, in the first edition of Sat. vi, the fragment would naturally have followed 345 *sed nunc ad quas non Clodius aras? In quacumque domo vivit luditque professus Obscaenum*. The connexion is thus direct and natural. 'The adulterer is everywhere; no house but has its Tripallus in the disguise of a semi-male. The wives of our time treat these wretches on a footing of equality, and ask their advice on the most vital questions of life: shall they take a new husband? and get rid of the old one? how shall they dispose their hours of ennui? They even allow them to drink from the same cup with their liege lords. Yet in spite of their effeminate guise and gestures, in spite of their saffron dress and feminine hair-net, you must not trust these Colocynthas and Chelidons of the beard: they look only half-male, but your household can tell how far too male they can be. If friends advise you to keep your wife under lock and key and set a watch upon her, you have still to fear the very men you employ, for they are the first to be corrupted; *ab illis incipit uxor*.'

When the Satire was remodelled and the passage rejected, the five concluding verses in it were cut down to three, and these used to introduce a new section, beginning with 349,

Iamque eadem summis pariter minimisque libido,
and ending with 365.

Non umquam reputant quanti sibi gaudia constant.

But it was not at once that the new recension prevailed to the entire exclusion of the now rejected fragment. The old still subsisted, at least in some copies, side by side with the new. It would be written either in the margin or, if included in the text, in some place which would

indicate the inferiority of its position, below or after the new passage which had supplanted it in the new recension. That passage, as I said, ends with 365, and *after 365 it is that the rejected verses*, Mr. Winstedt's newly-discovered fragment, occur, in the one MS. of the Satire as yet known to preserve them.

There is nothing very improbable in this; nay, there are similar traces of a different and earlier recension in other parts of the same Satire. I will mention these in the order in which they occur.

In the ordinary text given by the MSS. after 372-3,

postquam coeperunt esse bilibres

Tonsoris damno tantum rapit Heliodorus,

follows

Conspicuus longe cunctisque notabilis intrat Balnea, &c.

In Canon. Lat. 41 this last verse is preceded by two lines which, since their publication by Mr. Winstedt, have given rise to much discussion,

Ma(n)gonum pueros uera ac miserabilis urit

Debilitas follisque¹ pudet cicerisque relictis.

though the general meaning is no doubt, as Max Maas has suggested, to contrast the *spadones a domina facti* with the ordinary *pueri meritorii*, whose virility is more effectually destroyed by the processes to which the slave-master has submitted them.

Again, after 631 the scholia known as Valla's state on the authority of Probus that two verses survived in some copies which were not found in others.

631 Liuida materno feruent adipata ueneno.

Mordeat ante aliquis, quidquid porrexerit illa

Quae peperit: timidus praegustet pocula pappas.

And these two lines are admitted into the text of Achaintre, Iahn, Bücheler, Friedländer, Lewis, Duff.

The same Valla's scholia mention three verses still found in the text of some MSS., but not of Canon. Lat. 41, between 614, 615.

¹ follesque MS.

614 Tamen hoc tolerabile, si non
615 Et furere incipias ut auunculus ille Neronis

They are as follows :—

Semper aquam portes rimosa ad dolia, semper
Istud onus subeas ipsis manantibus urnis
Quo rabidus nostro Phalarim de rege dedisti.

Of these I have as yet seen no satisfactory interpretation, but the sequence of thought seems to point to some form of mental hallucination connecting them with the madness (*furere incipias*) of 615. Valla says on this passage: 'These three verses however in many MSS. are wanting. I have read them in a very old MS., and they are also mentioned by Probus.'

It seems worth while to mention in this case the facts of the transmission as recorded by Achaintre, Iahn, and other modern editors.

Achaintre found them in a Vatican MS. of cent. x, and in two others. Iahn states that they are in MS. Urbin. 661 in the Vatican, and in Valla's and Plathner's MSS., also in Laur. xxxiv. 42, of century xi, in which (and this incongruity as to their right place is the *first* point to be noted) they follow 601,

mox decolor heres

601 Impleret tabulas, numquam tibi mane uidendus.
Semper aquam portes rimosa ad dolia, semper
Istud onus subeas ipsis manantibus urnis
Quo rabidus nostro Phalarim de rege dedisti.

In the *second* place, there are a great many variants, of which little account is taken in most of the editions where the verses are mentioned.

Thus a MS., whose readings are cited in the margin of a copy of the Ald. of 1501 in the Bodleian, gives *fimosa* for *rimosa*, and *Quod rabidum* for *Quo rabidus*. Iahn too mentions *fimosa*, *Quod rabidum . . . rostro . . . ede* for *de rege*. There would seem therefore to be some doubt as to the right reading of at least two of the verses.

This does not point to their being a late interpolation of

the fourteenth or fifteenth century; for Achaintre's Vatican MS. is stated to be of the tenth century, and the Laurentian codex used by Iahn, as above stated, belongs to cent. xi.

It *does* point, in my opinion, to their being spurious. I would illustrate this by the various readings found in the spurious verses contained in the Ibis scholia. In these also we know that the tradition of the verses is ancient, not later, at any rate, than cent. ix. or x.

And spurious these three verses are considered by the most authoritative editors of Sat. vi, Iahn, Bücheler, Friedländer, Lewis, Duff; owing to which neglect, no plausible interpretation of their meaning to my knowledge has yet been offered.

But allow that they are not genuine, would this disprove the genuineness of the *other* verses in Satire vi, which I have above quoted as only found in some MSS., and which are stated in the scholia to be doubtful? This would not follow. If two recensions of Satire vi were made by the author, the genuine remains of the earlier version might give rise, at some period of the transmission, to spurious imitations or interpolations of a palpably inferior kind.

It is not difficult to find parallels to what I believe to have happened in the case of Mr. Winstedt's fragments, (a) in Juvenal himself, (b) in other Latin poems,

(a) To take Juvenal first.

In Sat. ix occurs the following passage, as written in the Pithoëanus:—

Viuendum recte est cum propter plurima tunc est	118
Idcirco ut possis linguam contemnere serui	119
Praecipue causis ut linguas mancipiorum	120
Contemnas; nec lingua mali pars pessima serui.	121

Is not this a similar case of a double recension? It is not possible that 119, 120 should *both* have been retained by Juvenal. 119 *Idcirco ut possis linguam contemnere serui* must have been another version of what afterwards became two lines *Praecipue causis ut linguas manci-*

piorum Contemnas, nec lingua mali pars pessima serui.
 To this the v. l. found in most MSS. in 118, *Vivendum recte est cum propter plurima, tunc his* points: omitting 119 *tunc his Praecipue causis ut linguas mancipiorum Contemnas* is intelligible and natural: *his* refers to *causis*.

(b) The existence of a double recension in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* has recently been demonstrated by Rudolf Helm (*Festschrift Ioannes Vahlen*, pp. 337-65). The poet himself says that he was overtaken by exile before he could himself edit them, and that the work was still growing and imperfect at that time.

As specimens of a double recension I select from Helm's instances the following:—

M. vi. 280-283:

Pascere crudelis nostro Latona dolore	280
Pascere ait satiaque meo tua pectora luctu.	281
Corque ferum satia, dixit, per funera septem	282
Efferor. exulta uictrixque inimica triumpha.	283
Cur autem uictrix?	284

It is not possible that

Pascere ait satiaque meo tua pectora luctu
 should be followed by

Corque ferum satia.

Yet, on the other hand, the repetition of *pascere* in two sequent lines is Ovidian, and is found in ix. 176-8:

Cladibus, exclamat, Saturnia, pascere nostris,
 Pascere et hanc pestem specta crudelis ab alto,
 Corque ferum satia.

It seems natural to conclude that the two versions have survived side by side, the one-line version preceding the longer version, which is probably that preferred by the poet.

viii. 284-6:

Sanguine et igne micant oculi riget horrida ceruix	284
Et setae similes rigidis hastilibus horrent	285
Stantque uelut uallum uelut alta hastilia setae	286

Here again, if *setae*¹ in 286 is right, we have two lines which can only be duplicates, and of which one alone can be retained. If, as Helm supposes, each of the duplicates came originally from Ovid, the former of the two may be a rough draft which he immediately altered without erasing; for after *riget horrida ceruix* I cannot believe *Et setae similes rigidis hastilibus horrent* would have been even possible, in spite of the supposed parallels alleged by Helm. But omitting the first of the duplicates, the passage seems unobjectionable.

Sanguine et igne micant oculi, riget horrida ceruix,
Stantque uelut uallum uelut alta hastilia setae.

viii. 682 seqq. (part of the Episode of Philemon and Baucis)
is thus given in most MSS., including Can.⁷ and Auct. F. 4. 22.

	‘in ardua montis	682
Ite simul.’	parent et dis praeuntibus ambo	683
Membra leuant	baculis tardique senilibus annis	684
Nituntur longo uestigia	ponere cliuo.	

In the Marcianus, of late years accepted as the most authoritative text of the *Metamorphoses*, the passage is written thus:

	‘in ardua montis
Ite simul.’	parent ambo baculisque leuatis (<i>read</i> leuati)
Nituntur longo uestigia	ponere cliuo.

Here the longer version is cumbrous and loads the description. The shorter version of the Marcianus looks like the poet's more critical preference. At any rate Helm is justified in judging both to be not unworthy of Ovid or unlike his style.

A similar phenomenon occurs in the *Fasti*. Peter, who has written the best commentary on this poem, rightly observes that it contains *two* prologues, that at the beginning of B. i addressed to Germanicus, and another after vv. 1-2 of B. ii, which was obviously written before it and

¹ Canon. Lat. 7 has *serre*.

was originally intended to stand at the head of the entire work. This is quite clear from the first line.

Nunc primum uelis elegi maioribus itis.
 Exiguum, memini, nuper eratis opus.
 Ipse ego uos habui faciles in amore ministros,
 Cum lusit numeris prima iuuenta suis.
 Idem sacra cano signataque tempora fastis.

‘Now for the first time my elegy advances with fuller sails: I sing in my age of the Roman calendar and the worship offered at Rome’s altars, not of my youthful passions and Love.’ And yet one whole book of sailing under this crowded canvas, one whole book describing Roman days and rites, has preceded. Can it be doubtful that this second and seemingly supernumerary prologue, addressed not to Germanicus, but to the reigning *princeps*,

At tua prosequimur studioso pectore, Caesar,
 Nomina, per titulos ingredimurque tuos,

was originally meant, possibly with some slight variation on its present shape, to stand at the *beginning* of the poem?

Here again we seem to come in sight of a double recension, though with quite a different result. I mean that each of the two prologues (to the *Fasti*) has been retained by the editor of the second recension, whether Ovid himself or one of his friends; but that which was originally to have come at the beginning of B. i *Nunc primum uelis elegi maioribus itis* has given way to one more finished, and descended to the subordinate position of introducing B. ii.

Note on Fr. 35, 36.

Ma(n)gonum pueros uera ac miserabilis urit
 Debilitas follisque (follesque *MS.*) pudet cicerisque relictī.

It is, I think, very doubtful whether the last four words of this distich contain any indecent allusion. Mr. H. Jackson (*Cl. Rev.* for 1899, p. 401) translates 'they are ashamed of their empty bag and the peas which they have lost, *follis* representing the scrotum, *ciceris* the testicles, or (as suggested by Prof. Platt with Mr. Jackson's approval) the *αἰδοῖον* itself, cf. *ἐπέβυθος*.

Such a sense is at least not necessary. The slave-dealer's boys have a much more real mutilation to complain of; their condition is such as to make them sigh regretfully for the life of poverty and plain fare they once enjoyed. *relictī* should I think be constructed with *both* of the genitives: they are ashamed to think of the poor purse and cheap fare they have left for a better feed, but not so respectable life.

follis I would explain of the leather purse in which they used to carry such pence or halfpence as fell in their way. *Cicer* as in Hor. *S. I. 6. 115* *Ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum*, where Porphyrius says *Hanc escam uulgarem esse nemo est qui nesciat*.

Note on 614, sqq.

The three verses quoted on p. 12 as occurring in most MSS. between 614, 615

tamen hoc tolerabile si non	614
Semper aquam portes rimosa ad dolia, semper	
Istud onus subeas, ipsis manantibus urnis,	
Quo rabidus nostro Phalarim de rege dedisti,	
Et furere incipias, ut auunculus ille Neronis	615
Cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia pulli	
Infudit.	

seem to me, partly on the grounds there stated, to be spurious. But they admit of a meaning which I offer here, having as yet seen no other. Sometimes a wife works upon her husband's life and health by magic and *philtre*. His mind becomes clouded, he forgets everything he has just been doing. This however would be endurable, if it did not culminate in madness and hallucinations; he fancies he has to fill the pitchers of the Danaides, and carry them, leaking all the time; finally, driven by sleepless nights and horrid visions to actual frenzy, he changes from the kind king of the fable to a Phalaris of tyranny.

On this view *Quo rabidus* = quo onere actus ad rabiem; *dedisti de nostro rege Phalarim* = tamquam ranis in fabula tyrannum dedisti nobis qui te prius mitem inueneramus.

Or, reading with some of the MSS.

Quo rabidum rostro Phalarim de rege dedisti

the allusion will be more definitely to the new ruler, perhaps a stork, who devoured the frogs he was sent to govern. Then *Quo* = propter quod, on account of which imaginary load, *rabidum rostro* = 'raging with his beak.' *Phalarim de rege* like fies de rhetore consul, vii. 197.

G. A. Simcox thinks *rimosa dolia* and *manantibus urnis* refer to the bodily condition of the multiuola mulier quae semen uiri retinere nequit; but in any case the words *ipsis manantibus urnis* must allude to the Danaides and their leaking pitchers.

New fragments of Juvenal.



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